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*Monosyllabic Roots in Pampanga.*—By CARLOS EVERETT  
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One of the most interesting of the Philippine languages to the student of Indonesian phonology is the Pampanga, spoken by about 280,000 people in the province of the same name which forms the northern boundary of Manila Bay.

Altho its territory is contiguous to that of the Tagalog, spoken in Manila and the surrounding provinces, Pampanga presents a variety of striking phonological peculiarities not shared by its neighbor. Among these may be mentioned the following:

1. The lack of *h*, a very frequent sound in Tagalog, Bisaya and Bikol, e. g. Pamp. *ukúm* 'judge': Tag. Bis. Bikol *hukúm*; Pamp. *ápun* 'afternoon'; Tag. Bis. Bkl. *hápun*; Pamp. *buák* 'hair': Tag. Bis. Bkl. *buhák*.

2. Vocalic change in the first syllable of a root<sup>1</sup>, e. g. Pamp. *katám* 'a brush' but *ketáman* 'object brushed'; *kulubáin* 'cover' but *kilubánan* 'object covered'.

3. The treatment of the Indonesian RGH consonant<sup>2</sup>, which in Tagalog, as in most Philippine languages, becomes *g*, but appears as *y* in Pampanga, e. g. Pamp. *yamút* 'root': Tag. Bis. Bkl. *gamút*; Pamp. *uyát* 'vein': Tag. Bis. Bkl. *ugát*.

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<sup>1</sup> The term 'root' is employed in this paper in its traditional sense, namely, to indicate the dissyllabic type of base (Brandstetter's *Grundwort*, cf. *Wurzel und Wort in den Indonesischen Sprachen*, Lucerne 1910) characteristic of Indonesian languages. Whatever may have been the prehistoric type of the Indonesian root, which is regarded by some scholars, notably Pater W. Schmidt, Brandstetter and K. Wulff, as monosyllabic, the fact remains that the existing languages of the Indonesian branch *par excellence* regularly build their derivatives on dissyllabic bases, which, be their ultimate origin what it may, are felt and treated as roots subject to no further analysis, and hence may with entire propriety be spoken of as such in any discussion not concerning itself with the very problematic word structure of the parent speech.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Conant, *The RGH Law in Philippine Languages*, JAOS vol. xxxi, p. 80 ff.

4. The representation of the indifferent vowel (pepet)<sup>1</sup> by *a*, while it appears regularly as *i* in Tagalog, e. g. Pamp. *ipás* 'roach': Tag. *ipis*; Pamp. *báyat* 'weight': Tag. *big'at*.

5. Metathesis of initial consonant and following vowel, which is generally an *a*, e. g. Pamp. *altáu* < \**latau* 'to float': Tag. *litáu*; Pamp. *abyás* < \**bayas* 'rice': Tag. *bigás*, this last example showing also the treatment of the RGH consonant and of the *pepet* vowel in Pampanga.

6. The contraction of two concurrent like vowels, e. g. Pamp. *tān* 'to stop, cease': Tag. Pangasinan *táan*; Pamp. *duñ* 'to reach shore, land (of boats)': Tag. Bis. Bkl. *dúun*. Such contraction is also regular in Ibanag (spoken in the Kagayan Valley, North Luzón), e. g. Ibg. *bāg* 'breech-clout': Tag. Bis. Bkl. *bahág*; Ibg. *big* 'all, nothing but, Ger. *lauter*': Iloko, Pang. *biig*. Sulu (spoken by the Mohammedan Malays of the Sulu Archipelago) contracts not only originally concurrent like vowels, e. g. Sulu *tō* 'right (hand)': Bis. Bkl. *to'ó*, but also dissimilar concurrent vowels, e. g. Sulu *nōg* 'descend': Bis. *náog*, Tag. (*pa*)*náog*, and those brought together by secondary Sulu loss of intervocalic *l*, e. g. Sulu *ō* 'head': Tag. Bis. Ilk. *ulo*; Sulu *sāh* 'fault, blame': Tag. Bis. Bkl. *sala*. Syncopation of intervocalic *l* also occurs in Tagalog, but less regularly than in Sulu (compare the examples last given), and without resultant contraction, e. g. Tag. *dáan* 'way, road': Sulu *dān*: Bis. Bkl. *dálan*.

7. Apheresis and apocopation of accentless syllables, composed mostly of a single vowel, e. g. Pamp. *tē*, the interjectional short form of *patē* 'dead'; *sak*, beside *asák* 'to pack'; *tun* 'cook rice': Ilk. Ibg. Mal. Kawi, Makass. Bug. Mlg. Samoan, Tahiti, Chamorro *tunu*, Haw. *kunu*.

As a result of the regular vocalic contraction pointed out above (6) and the sporadic loss of an accentless syllable, a considerable number of Indonesian dissyllabic roots have been reduced to monosyllables in Pampanga. Leaving out of account some twenty monosyllabic words consisting of enclitic pronominal forms, accentless adverbial and connective particles, the articles, and interjections (many of these being unquestionably of onomatopoeic origin), there remain about thirty-five monosyllabic

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Conant, *The Pepet Law in Philippine Languages*, *Anthropos* vol. vi.

roots in the language. The majority of these may readily be identified with roots of the ordinary dissyllabic form in other Philippine languages.

I. Roots showing contraction of Pamp. *aa* to *a*:

1. *dās* < \**daas* < \**daēs*<sup>1</sup> 'arrive': Tag. *daís*.
2. *kān* < \**kaan* < \**kaēn* 'eat': Ilk. *kaán*, Tag. *káin*, Bis. *ká'on*.
3. *māl* < \**maal* 'dear, expensive': Tag. Bis. Mgd. Sulu, Mal. Sund. Dayak *mahal*. For loss of *h* in Pamp. see above (p. 1).
4. *pāt* < \**paat* < \**paēt* 'chisel': Ilk. Pang. *paét*, Tag. *páit*, Bis. *pahut*, Mal. Dayak *pahat*.
5. *sāp* < \**saap* < \**saēp* 'farm hand': Bis. *saúp*, Bkl. *sáup* 'apprentice, artisan's assistant'.

6. *tān* < \**taan* 'stop, cease': Tag. *táan*, *tahán*, Pang. *táan*, Bis. *taán*, Mal. Jav. Sund. Day. *tahan*, Haw. *kaa*.

7. *lāt* < \**laat* 'all': Tag. *lahát*.

II. Roots showing contraction of *uu* to *u*:

8. *dūn* 'to reach shore, land (of boats)': Tag. Bis. Bkl. Pang. *duun* (with varying accent), Tir. *duñu*, Ibg. *duñ*.

9. *lūb* 'within': Tag. Bis. Pang. Ilk. *lúub* or *luúb*, Tir. *dob*.

10. *lūd* 'proseguir para acabar': Ilk. *lúud* 'ruin, destruction, completely destroy'.

11. *lūk* 'bay, inlet': Tag. Bis. Ilk. Pang. Bagobo *lóok* or *lúuk*, Ibg. *lut* (for *luk* where the original surd stop has become in pronunciation the glottal stop and hence has lost its identity; cf. Ibg. *but* in use beside the correct historical form *buk* 'hair': Ilk. *buúk*, Pang. *buék*, Pamp. *buák*), Sulu *lōk*.

12. *lūn* 'cure (meats), preserve or dry (fruits)': Tag. Bis. Bkl. *lō'on* or *lú'on*.

13. *pūn* 'base, stem, trunk, origin, beginning, capital': Ilk. Bkl. *puñn*, Pang. *poon(án)*, Tag. Bis. *puhón(an)* Sulu, Mal. Sund. *puhun*, Tir. *fūun*, Mgd. *puun* or *pun*, Ibg. *fun*.

14. *sūb* 'steam': Ilk. *súub*, Pang. *suúb*, which are connected by metathesis with Tag. Bis. Mgd. Tirurai *subu* of nearly identical meaning.

15. *sūn* 'rise (of tide), be borne on the tide': Bis. *suún* 'wander aimlessly, go with the current'.

16. *tūd* 'hit the mark, aim straight, be true': Bis. Pang. *túud* 'true, consider true, believe'.

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<sup>1</sup> Wherever *ē* appears in this paper it indicates the indifferent vowel (pepet), which regularly becomes *a* in Pamp.

17. *tūg* 'basket of woven palm leaves': Tag. Bis. *túhug*, Ibg. *tug*.

18. *tūs* 'make good, remedy, repair': Tag. *túus*.

III. Roots showing contraction of *i* or *u* with the pepet vowel:

19. *sūd* 'a kind of fish corral': Tag. *súid*, Bis. *sihod*, Bkl. *siód*.

20. *tūd* 'knee': Tag. Bkl. Bis. Sulu *túhud*, Ibg. *tuád*, Tir. *etur*, Sund. *tuur*, Toba *tut*, Kawi *tūr*. Kawi and (apparently) Toba have the same contraction. Compare also Toba *buk* 'hair' with Sund. *buuk* and the Phil. cognates in No. 11 above. In this connection it is interesting to note that Pamp. and Ibg. exactly reverse each other in their treatment of the words for 'hair' and 'knee', tho the vocalism of the two words is precisely the same:

Philippine	Tagalog	Pampanga	Ibanag
* <i>buěk</i> 'hair'	<i>buhúk</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>buák</i>	<i>buk</i>
* <i>tuěd</i> 'knee'	<i>túhud</i>	<i>tud</i>	<i>tuád</i>

IV. Roots showing apocope:

21. *tun* 'cook rice' Ilk. Ibg. Mal. Kawi, Makass. Bug. Mlg. Samoan, Chamorro, Tahiti *tunu*, Haw. *kunu*.

22. *sut* 'humiliate oneself to another': Bis. *suta* 'confess publicly'.

V. Roots showing apheresis:

23. *dam* 'borrow': Bkl. *hadám*, *harám*, Tag. *hirám*, Bis. *hulám*. The penultimate vowel, lost in Pamp., is an original pepet. The medial consonant is a good example of the RLD law.

24. *pan* 'perhaps, perchance': Tag. *apán*, *upán* 'perhaps', Ilk. *pan*, *apán*, *papán*, or *agpapán* 'altho', Cebuan Bis. *apán* 'but, however', Panayan Bis. *apún* 'but, however'.

25. *dat* beside *indát* 'quotiescumque'.

26. *pu* beside *apú* 'sir, Mr.'

27. *sak* beside *asák* 'to pack'.

28. *tē* (as interj.) beside *patē* 'dead'.

29. *tan* beside *atán* 'stop, cease'.

30. *tas* beside *atás* 'high, height'.

31. *tin* beside *atín* 'to have'.

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<sup>1</sup> Tag. *buhúk*, *túhud* have *u* (instead of the regular *i*) for the pepet vowel by assimilation to the original *u* of the penult. Cf. Conant, *Pepet Law*. Brandstetter, *Prodromus*, p. 41 ff., considers the monosyllabic forms *buk*, *tud* as original, from which the dissyllabic forms are developed by expansion (*Zerdehnung*). Against this explanation, see my *op. cit.*, Table V, Note 2.

The syllable most frequently lost by apheresis consists of the unprotected vowel *a*, either original, as in the case of Pamp. *pan*: Tag. Ilk. Bis. *apán*; Pamp. *pu*: Pamp. Tag. Pang. Bkl. Bis. *apú*; or from *pepet*, as in *dam* (above No. 23).

VI. Words showing contraction following syncopation of *l* < RLD:

32. *ē* (long open *ē* = OEng. *æ*) beside *ai* and *alí* 'no, not', from *a* + *dí*, cf. Ilk. *dí* and *adí*, Bontok *adí*, Pang. *an-dí* and *alí-wa*, Ibg. *zì* (*z* for *d* initially before *i* as in Ibg. *zilá*: Tag. Bis. etc. *díla* 'tongue') and *arí*.

33. *mē*, from older *mai* from \**mali* 'come, go': Bkl. Sulu, Mal. Toba, *mári*, Bis. *um-arí* generally shortened to *mari* in *mari ka* 'come here!' But Pamp. (*u*)*mai* may have been original (see below).

The history of this very common word is as interesting as it is complicated. Made up originally of demonstrative particles denoting place or direction, it has been an easy prey to contamination with other words and particles of similar meaning.

To be connected with the foregoing cognates are Bontok *umáli* in *umáli-ak* 'I come', and, without *um-*, *álíka* 'come', where *-ka* is the enclitic 2 pers. pron., Pang. *día* 'here' (cf. *gála día* 'come here'), Tag. *halí* 'come here'. In these examples we have evidently the demonstrative particle *dí* (cf. Blake, JAOS xxvii, 350 ff.) with the deictic particle *a* either prefixed: Bis. *arí*, Bont. *áli*, Tag. *halí* (with initial breathing as often in Tag.), or suffixed: Pang. *día*. Tag. and Bont. employ the adverb alone as an imperative, while Bis. may either use *arí* alone or with the imperative prefix *um-* in the same sense. Here the base is distinctly felt as *arí*, *alí*, and also in Sulu *mari*, *kari*. But in Bkl. Mal. Toba *mari* we have a stereotyped form with initial *m*, which, after loss of the original *u* of *um-*, was no longer recognized as a prefixed element, cf. Mal. Toba *minum* 'drink' for IN *um-inum*.

On the other hand Ilk. *umái* (generally pron. *mai*), Ibg. *umái*, Tirurai *mai*, in *mai dñi* 'come here', point to a root *ai*, which is actually found in the sense of 'walk, go, come' in both Ibg. and Tir. Magindanau *ai* 'foot' is doubtless the same word.

That there has been a confusion between these two prototypes there can be little doubt, and to either of them could

be referred Pamp. *mai*, Chamorro *mage*<sup>1</sup>, and the Polynesian *mai* 'hither, thence' found in Samoan, Haw. Tahiti and Marquesan.

The present study has yielded no cognates for the following monosyllabic roots: *bal* 'to order brought', *dan* 'lower leg', *din* 'to give', *kid* 'to remove from the fire (frying pan, etc.)'.

*Puk* 'to assign' and *tul* 'a measure for cotton' are Chinese loan words used in mercantile language, *puk* being Chin. 撥 *pu* 'to allot, assign', and *tul* being 斗 罌 *teh r* 'a basket used as a measure for raw cotton'.

It is evident from the foregoing examination of monosyllabic roots that Pampanga, like Ibanag and Sulu, represents a stage of linguistic development much more advanced than the other Philippine languages, which show the unreduced dissyllabic root so characteristic of both Indonesian and Polynesian.

But while the process of abbreviation was going on in Pampanga, there seems to have been even here an instinctive tendency to restore the dissyllabic character of the affected words which, as monosyllables, were felt to be incomplete, by prefixing a weak, colorless vowel, generally *a*. The movement doubtless took its origin from the large number of words having an initial *a* resulting from metathesis (see above p. 390). Thus, under the influence of *atlú* < \**talú* (Phil. *tělü*) 'three' and *apát* (Phil. *ěpát*) 'four', \**dwa* (IN *dua*, *rua*, *lua*) 'two' became *adwá*. Similarly Pamp. *atyán* (Phil. *tian*) 'abdomen', *apyá* (Phil. *pia*) 'noble, good'. In the case of roots used always with formative elements the monosyllabic character of the root was not felt and hence most of the monosyllabic roots denoting action remained in their reduced form.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Conant, *Consonant Changes and Vowel Harmony in Chamorro*, *Anthropos*, vi, p. 143.